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tion of the Matsumae and prove the points made by Hayashi. Mogami Tokunai who played an eminent role in the investigation of 1786 also put forth the urgent need for an assimilation policy and in his *Ezo Sōshi* he criticizes the Matsumae as follows:

> As mentioned in the previous chapter entrance into Ezo was restricted. Nevertheless, many Russians have entered the island and are practicing their laws and regulations there. They have treated the Ezo fairly and offered guidance so that the natives have come to accept the customs and ways of life of the Russians. The attempt of the Matsumae to prohibit entry to Ezo is futile because the island is too big. The time has come for our country to open the door to aliens.

Honda Toshiaki who had studied about Ezo under the guidance of Mogami Tokunai further developed this argument and is the most conspicuous figure among those advocating the colonization of Ezo. He notes that one of the four most important steps in restoring the Japanese economy would be to develop the islands attached to the mainland as fortresses against an enemy thus adding to both our national product and our national power. He emphasizes the development of Hokkaidō. He does not mean merely the cultivation of the land over a large area. He states that it is most important to treat the natives benevolently.

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> If the people on the island are still living in holes dug in the ground they should be taught to live in houses. We could even go so far as to build one for the chief. Whatever materials they lack we should furnish and this is true in every phase. If they are thus treated there is no doubt that they will come to trust and rely upon you as would a child on his parents. After all, their sentiments are as human as anyone else's.[1]

This benevolence according to Toshiaki was not to be merely a political matter. He says that, if the natives are well treated,

> they too in return would wish to repay us. The products they offer would be the first step toward taxation. . . . It is a wise way to govern that the natives be taught to work hard without idling away their time. This is an essential in governing.[2] [But] In Japan no policy has yet been decided upon and it is forbidden to send cereals there. Knives are not allowed nor are the natives permitted to use the Japanese language and there are many other prohibitions. This policy of keeping the people ignorant and uncivilized is a most regrettable one. The policy of Muscovy is to give the natives what they want even if it means a little sacrifice, so naturally the natives in Ezo and the other islands have a deep respect for and reliance upon them.[3]

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The latitude of Matsumae is 40° North and it has the same climate as Peking in China. Therefore, whatever is raised in Peking could be grown also in Ezo. The circumference of the island is approximately 1000 ri and, if the entire island were well developed, it would have a productive capacity equal to that of Japan and, if these

[1] Keisai Hisaku Hoi (Successful administration, supplement), *Nihon Keizai Sōsho* 12: 83.
[2] *Ibid.*, 83.
[3] *Ibid.*, 84–85.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

By Romyn Hitchcock.

The island of Yezo is situated nearly north of the main island of Japan, stretching northeasterly, forming the end of the "silkworm," to which, owing to its shape, the Japanese writers have fancifully compared their country. It is comprised between the parallels of 41° 30′ and 45° 30′ of north latitude, and embraces about six degrees of longitude from the extreme western limit to the longitude of Nemuro. Nemuro is a large and important town situated near the extremity of the most eastern peninsula. It has a good harbor for small vessels, but the entrance is not very safe in bad weather. Looking north, the island of Kunashiri is clearly seen, its snow-capped mountains rising high and gleaming in the August sun. Further to the north and east are Yeterof, or Itarup, and the chain of the Kuriles stretching beyond to Kamtschatka. The Kuriles are, or have been, partly inhabited by a few migratory people who constructed a kind of underground dwellings which are of great interest in connection with the early inhabitants of Yezo.

Almost directly south of the eastern end of Kunashiri, about 50 nautical miles from Nemuro, is the small, almost unknown island Shikotan, in latitude about 43° 47′ north. On this island there is a small colony of the Kurile islanders established there by the Japanese Government. This was visited by the writer of this paper, whose observations there made are the subject of a separate report.

The northwest extremity of Yezo is separated by only about 20 nautical miles from Saghalien. The island is very irregular in shape. Geologically it is composed very largely of volcanic and metamorphic rocks, with here and there limited tracts of alluvium in river valleys and along the coast. The largest of these and by far the most favorably situated for agricultural purposes is in the Ishikari Valley. The Government agricultural college at Sapporo occupies some of the finest and most productive land, and has the advantage of a less rigorous climate than prevails in Yezo generally. At this place grain, vegetables and even fruits of fine quality are abundantly produced. Nevertheless, my observations do not enable me to speak favorably of Yezo as an agricultural country. The climate is too severe, and the soil is not generally suitable, or, where suitable, it is too limited in extent. The total production of rice in 1886 amounted to 16,595 koku (about 83,000

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

which can hardly claim to be classed under that heading. The inhabitants of the place themselves seem to feel the ill-effects of constantly living in that corrupted atmosphere and on a fish and seaweed diet; for, indeed, it is revolting to see the amount of horrible cutaneous diseases which affect them. One hardly sees one creature out of ten that is not covered with a repulsive eruption of some sort. Leprosy, too, has found its way among the fishermen; and my readers can easily imagine how pleasant it was for me, when I was sketching, to be surrounded by a crowd of these loathsome people, who all wished to touch my clothes and all my belongings, and who would even lean on my back and rub their heads against mine, when trying to get a better view of the sketch.

Poor things! I never had the courage to scold and send them away. It was enough that they were afflicted, and I did not like to add humiliation to their other sorrows by showing them my disgust.

[32] I rode on to Erimo-zaki, or Rat Cape. Thick fogs are prevalent during the summer months along the whole of the south-east coast, of which Erimo-zaki is the most southern cape. It is the terminating point of the backbone of the main portion of Yezo, which extends from Cape Soya to Cape Erimo from N.NW. to S.SE. A lighthouse has lately been erected on the cliffs by the Japanese Maritime Department, and a steam fog-horn has also been provided for the greater safety of navigation, as a reef of rocks and a stretch of shallow water extend out in the sea for about two and a half miles from the coast.

The foghorn, I was informed, was only blown when the lighthouse-keeper suspected some ship was likely to make for the rocks! A likely thing, indeed!

"But how are you to know, especially when there is a thick fog on?" I asked.

"So few ships pass near here," was the reply; "and it would not be much use keeping steam up all the time to blow the horn, considering that we have fog during nearly four months in the year."

"Then," I could not help remarking, "I expect you only light the lighthouse when there is going to be a wreck?"

"Oh, no; we show the light every night."

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

are as abundant here as on the south-west coast, and maintain the staple industries of the inhabitants. The sea-weed is of great length but small width. Fourteen more miles over the cliffs brought me to Perohune.[1] There were four large deltas to cross, that of the Toyoi-pets[2] being the largest. The current in all these rivers is extremely swift.

Perohune enjoys a big name, but there is only one house in the place. I was, however, fortunate enough to get two good ponies there. The fog was settling down thicker and thicker, and I could not see more than a yard or two in front of me; but at times it lifted up for a few moments, and showed me either the dangers I was nearing or the landscape I was losing. I passed two lakes, the Tobuts,[3] otherwise called Oputs, and the Yuto. Both are divided from the sea by a narrow sand-ridge. There is but little of human interest along this deserted coast. There are no houses and no people, but many small rivers, and now and then high cliffs. My ponies, driven mad by the *abus*, the terrible horseflies of Yezo, constantly threw themselves down and rolled on the sand.

From Perohune to Yuto Lake the distance is about eleven miles, and from Yuto to Otsu it is eleven more miles, on a very easy track. I saw some large sea-birds and penguins, and I was struck by the great number of drift logs which had been washed on shore by the sea. The last thirty-eight miles of the coast was literally covered with this drift wood. During the summer months the fog is always dense along this coast, greatly owing to a cold current which comes from the Otkoshk Sea, passes through the strait between Kunashiri and Etorofu, in the Kuriles, and then turns south, following a great part of the south-east coast of Yezo. Not far from Erimo Cape it meets a warm current from the China Sea, which passes through the Tsugaru Strait, and which in all probability is the Kuro-shiwo, or Japan current. This Japan current parts from the main stream near the south-western

[1] *Pero* or *Pira*, cliff; *Hune*, *Hun*, a particle indicating the existence of something at a place.

[2] *Toy*, earth; *o*, (?) *i*, a place; *pets*, river.

[3] *To*, lake, swamp; *buts*, mouth of a river. *O*, a meaningless prefix; *puts*, mouth of a river.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

River, and also in that of the Kushiro River, but it does not form the surface soil, covering large areas of ground, as in many places on the south-western portion of the coast.

The different aspect in the tertiaries of the south-east and south-west coast may be accounted for by the presence of breccia and conglomerate, shales and sandstones, on the western part, while on the eastern coast beds of lignite, coal of inferior quality, and diatom earth form the tertiary strata. If it were not for the total want of harbours, or even moderately sheltered anchorages for ships, this south-west portion of Yezo, with its agricultural resources, its milder climate, and the facilities that it offers for the construction of roads and railways, ought to support a large population. As things stand now, there are no colonists inland, and the coast is deserted and desolate-looking. As I have mentioned before, the only drawbacks are the thick fogs prevailing during the summer months along the south-east coast, and I believe that this in some measure accounts for the Japanese not wishing to settle in a part of the country so depressing to their spirits and so trying to their nerves. I have often noticed how easily affected the Mikado's subjects are by atmospheric and geographical conditions, and how, before settling to do business, they make a point of finding some pleasant spot where to cast anchor, thinking more of the amenities of physical existence than of the facilities for successful trade. I did not see a single house for twenty miles until I reached Shaubets, a village of eleven Ainu huts and one Japanese house. Thousands of sea-gulls and penguins lined the sandy shore, and I saw several large black sea-eagles. A pretty waterfall, gently descending from the high grey cliff, was decidedly ornamental to the scenery and useful to the wayfarer, as it afforded my ponies and myself a good drink of deliciously fresh water. Far off in the distance I could distinguish a long tongue of land. At Shaubets I was told that it was the peninsula on which *Kossuri*, or *Kushiro*, as the Japanese call it, is situated. I left Shaubets early in the morning, with the intention of pushing on to Kushiro, thirty-one miles distant. At Shiranuka, only ten miles from Shaubets, I changed my ponies. Shiranuka is an Ainu village, the inhabitants of which employ themselves in collecting and drying seaweed. There are also seven or eight Japanese

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular, which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however, are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabitants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded them a great deal of amusement.

On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River; but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle of about 135. In fact, these variations in the Ainu architecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay. I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi, and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them in winter, while during the summer months the rain should fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

through into the hut. On the Kutcharo Lake and on the north-east coast, where strong winds are prevalent, the huts have round roofs, so as to offer the least possible resistance to the gales, and thus escape the danger of being blown down.

With regard to the snow, the opposite of the Saru Ainu method is practised. Instead of preventing the snow from resting on their roofs, the Ainu of the colder regions do all they can to let it remain, for by thus forming an air-tight vault it renders the hut much warmer in winter. In other words, the system is the same as that adopted by the Esquimaux, with the exception that the latter, I believe, have no frame to their huts, and the vault is entirely of snow and ice; while with the Ainu of the north-east coast the snow vault is directly over the hut itself. I invariably noticed on the north-east coast, where the Ainu have a mixed architecture, that wherever a hut was built in an exposed position it had a round roof, while those built under the shelter of a cliff or a hill had angular ones, and this is what led me to the above conclusion.

To return to the Koro-pok-kuru, they undoubtedly must have had semi-spherical and semi-cylindrical roofs over their pits, whether the vault was constructed of mud, sticks, and reeds, or simply of snow and ice, like the Esquimaux dwellings. For all that we know, the Koro-pok-kuru huts may have had conical roofs, like those of the present American Indians; but one fact is certain, that whatever shape the roof may have had, it was not supported by a central pole, for the hearth is invariably in the centre of the pit.

The curious fact already mentioned, that in every pit we find a thick layer of sand, seems to prove that it was certainly intended to render the ground less damp; and it is my own impression that these pit-dwellers, having snow or ice vaults over their heads, resorted to that expedient to keep the floor of their huts dry under the continuous dripping of the vault, melted by the heat of the fire inside. Undoubtedly Yezo was a much colder country in bygone years than it is now; and though we cannot implicitly rely on the information given by the Ainu, they are all of one opinion in believing that their country was all ice and snow in former days, and to give a proof of it they say: "Why should we be as hairy as a bear if not to keep the cold out?"

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

called Se-Cherippe, which contains many shoals and low islands, near which are beds of oysters of enormous size, the shells of some measuring as much as eighteen inches in length. The Koro-pok-kuru, by whom this district was formerly thickly populated, seem to have relished this diet, as we find thick beds of discarded shells on the top of some of the lower hills, and in many places, especially in the vicinity of pits. These shell heaps are similar to those found on the main island of Nippon, and attributed to the Ainu. (*See* Chapter IX.)

The country round the bay and the lagoon forms a high land or plateau between two hundred and three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and the higher ground is thickly wooded, thus supplying Akkeshi with abundance of timber, mostly of evergreen trees, as Todo and Yezo-matzu, two spruces common in other parts of Yezo as well. With its good harbour, its large export of oysters, salmon, herrings, fish-manure, and seaweed, besides its seal-fishery and the quantity of good timber easily cut and transported down the lagoon and across the bay for shipment, it is not surprising that Akkeshi has become, after Hakodate, the most important centre on the southern coast. It is nearly half as large again as Kushiro, and has as many as nine hundred Japanese houses, besides sixty or seventy Ainu huts.

The Ainu were formerly extremely numerous in this district; but few of them are left now, and those few are indeed poor specimens of their race. They have nearly all become bald, and they seem to suffer very severely from rheumatism. Thick fogs are very prevalent along the coast, and it is but seldom that one can obtain a view of the whole bay. These fogs naturally render navigation unsafe, and are one of the great drawbacks to the prosperity of the place. However, our good Londoners could tell us that greater evils than fogs can exist. I have no doubt that at some future date we shall hear of Akkeshi as being the most important port in Yezo, when a railway to join it to Shibetcha shall have been constructed. The sulphur of Mount Yuzan will probably then be taken direct to this place instead of Kushiro, owing to the safety of its harbour, an advantage which Kushiro does not possess. The Akkeshi Bay is also interesting from a picturesque point of view, when fogs give one a chance of seeing the surrounding scenery.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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AINU MAN AND WOMAN ON HORSEBACK.

CHAPTER XI.

From Akkeshi to Nemuro—A Horse Station—Nemuro and its People.

● 132 THE road in the proximity of Akkeshi was extremely muddy and slippery, owing to the continuous fogs and rain. A north wind was blowing hard the day I left for Kiritap, and it drove the mist and drizzly rain right through one's skin into one's bones. The fogs, which are prevalent all along the coast, seem to excel between Akkeshi and Kiritap; so much so that the Japanese in the neighbourhood make them answerable for their baldness, and the local Ainu say they are so scantily [306] hirsute because of the everlasting dampness in which they live. They clinch their argument by reminding you that when their forefathers came to this part of the coast they were as hairy as the bear, so what can have caused their own comparative smoothness but these everlasting fogs? I believe that to a great extent they are right, for when, after a day's wet ride, I

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

have sat near a fire even for some hours, I have felt as if my skin were soaking with wet—as if I had been too long in a bath—and neither rubbing with cotton towels nor the warmth of the fire seemed thoroughly to dry it; and perhaps such an extraordinary dampness, constantly saturating the pores of the skin, may have an injurious effect upon the hair, and cause it to decay and fall off. It was in a thick fog like this that I had to find my way to Rirurun, the next horse station, about eight miles further east. The road soon became a mere track, running through an undulating country, chiefly pasture land. As luck would have it, I had hired a pony which belonged to the Rirurun station, and the beast was as anxious to get there as I was. He knew the way and I did not, so I let him guide me. Now and then, when the wind blew with increased strength, the fog lifted for a few minutes, and disclosed some pretty bits of landscape. The country all around was grassy, with the familiar densely-wooded hills in the background. It somewhat resembled the slopes and high lands of Cornwall, without, however, the herds of sheep and cattle, which in our country are connected with green fields; without the trim fences and stiles, the ploughed fields and meadows, the trim hedges and park-like trees, the bye-lanes and well-kept roads.

Hill after hill was ascended and descended, the sturdy little pony going well towards his former home; but as yet I had come on no signs of any living creature. No labourers are here to work and plough the dark rich soil. Potato fields; cottages with their plots of vegetable grounds; cows and sheep scattered over the green pastures—all signs of vigorous and successful husbandry—are things that an intending traveller to Yezo will miss. Everywhere are solitude and monotony. Still, even solitude and monotony are not always to be abhorred, and if they have their drawbacks they also have their advantages. You can go undisturbed for mile after mile; you can think; you can dream; you can sing; you can keep to the track or go across country; you can go fast or slow, and there is no one to object, to obstruct, or to comment. You breathe air that no one has breathed before, and you quench your thirst in a limpid stream unpolluted by sewage, chemical refuse, or poisonous dye-stuffs. You lead a simple life, and, what is more, an independent life. Many a time,

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as they do not tattoo the long moustache across their faces, like other Ainu. Some of them have a small semicircular tattoo on the upper lip, which is not very displeasing to the eye; and in some cases is even becoming. The girls have also given up tattooing their arms. The men are much taller than the Ainu men of other regions, and they seem to be rather ill-natured. Japanese blood can be detected in many of them, and that may account for it. While the women are prettier, the men have repulsive faces, possessing all the characteristics of purely criminal types.

One young fellow who sat for me was the very image of Robespierre in his worst moments, and an old man who sat for me afterwards would, according to Phrenology, prove to be a murderer of the first water. This gentleman was a troublesome sitter, and excelled in making the most awful faces, which were accompanied by sounds imitating those of wild beasts. The Shari Ainu build their storehouses with cylindrical roofs, similar to those of their brethren on the Kutcharo Lake.

After the heavy storm of the previous night the weather cleared up for the rest of the day, and the sunset, reflected in the limpid waters of the river, was simply magnificent. On the other side, sheltered by the sand-hills, were a few Ainu huts standing out against the brilliant red and yellow sky, and here and there a large fish jumped out of the water, leaving circle after circle of concentric rings to break for the moment the reflection in the water.

From Shari to Abashiri the road is for some distance among trees, mostly fir and spruce, and then the Tobuts Lake is reached, half of which is a mere marsh. It is picturesquely situated, and I followed its borders for about three miles, having the sea on one side, the lake on the other. The track was easy and mostly on sand. At the outlet of the lake into the sea is the Ainu village of Tobuts, access to which is to be had only by boat, as the river is extremely deep, and its current very swift.

In the proximity of Tobuts another and smaller lake, the Opoto, with its short and winding estuary, is on the left of the traveller, while a long way ahead the Abashiri rocks stand high on the horizon. A few Ainu huts are scattered along the

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Moreover, with the latter, when walking the greater pressure is forward under the foot, and their toes are turned in; while in Ainu footprints the whole foot rests on the ground, and they keep it perfectly straight, moving the two feet parallel to each other.

I have given these few points on tracking, as it will explain to the reader how I was able to find my way from one village to another miles apart, to steer for huts where I had never been, and to overcome great difficulties, which I could not have surmounted if I had not learnt the art of tracking, and so far developed my natural powers. My ponies were also to a great extent my teachers; and by a close examination of their instinct I learned that I myself possessed it, and improved on it.

Between Sawaki, or Fujima, and Poronai there is a beautiful forest of oak and hard-wood trees on the hills and firs on the higher mountains, while the shore above the sea-wash is covered with thick scrub-bamboo, which reaches a height of about ten feet.

On the sandy beach, besides a large number of whales' bones, there is any amount of driftwood.

At Poronai, which consisted of only eight huts, the Ainu had adopted an architecture for their storehouses different to that of other tribes. The walls and the roof were made partly of wood, partly of the bark of trees. Heavy stones were placed on the roof to prevent it from being blown away during the strong gales so frequent along that coast.

The natives described the winter weather as very severe, especially during northerly winds, and they told me that some years the sea all along the coast is frozen for some eight or ten miles out, besides the drift-ice which sets in from the north and works its way along the coast as far as Cape Nossyap, in the neighbourhood of Nemuro. At the beginning of the winter this ice, probably drifted across from Sakhalin by the strong current in the La Perouse Strait, sets in from the north and works down all along the north-east coast of Yezo, filling up all indentations in the coast-line, and forming a solid mass on the surface of the water.

Seals are very plentiful on these shores as far as Abashiri,

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

INTRODUCTION

by Hitoshi Watanabe

THE AINU are the aboriginal people of Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands. They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and long heads. In 1939 the Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated at 160,000, and there had probably been little change since 1854. There were possibly another 10,000 scattered in the other islands.

Hokkaido is an island of about 30,000 square miles, situated north of the main Japanese island of Honshu, between 41° 30′ N. and 45° 30′ N. and 140–145° E. The northern end of Hokkaido is about twenty nautical miles away from Sakhalin, and to the north-east the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The climate of Hokkaido is sub-arctic; yearly mean temperature varies between 5·2° C. and 7·6° C., with a long snow season from November to May. The island is well wooded with fir, spruce, birch, oak and elm. Most of the rivers rise in a range of mountains which runs through the centre of the island from north to south. Grizzly bear and deer are found in the mountains, and salmon run in most rivers from May till October. In the past the Ainu lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants and berries.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese is of long standing and has taken different forms. Before 1599 contact must have been limited. In 1599 Japanese who had established their headquarters in the south-western end (Matsumae) of Hokkaido were recognized as the Japanese Matsumae clan by the Tokugawa Shogunate. They were given rights of ownership in this and the adjacent area as the clan territory (Matsumae-chi). Settlement of Ainu in the area was

I

INTRODUCTION

The Ainu in Hokkaido.

The Ainu are an aboriginal people living in Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the southern part of the Kurile Islands (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944a, p. 7). They have been noted for their hirsute bodies, wavy hair and narrow heads. They number about 17,000 (ibid., p. 7). The Ainu population of Hokkaido was estimated in 1940 at about 16,300 (NATORI, 1945, p. 280), a figure which has remained almost stable since 1854[1].

Hokkaido is an island of about 77,900 square kilometres (Tokyo Temmondai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 7), situated north of the Japanese mainland between circ. 41°30′N and 45°30′N and circ. 140°E and 146°E. The northern tip of the island is about 40 kilometres away from Sakhalin and to the northeast of the island the Kurile Islands stretch away towards Kamchatka. The annual means of temperature for the years 1921-1950 vary from 5.2°C. to 8.5°C. in different areas in Hokkaido (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 8). There is a long season of snowfall from October to May (ibid., Sect. Meteol., p. 34 and pp. 36-42) (in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, from November to May). The monthly mean temperatures in the island for the years 1921-1950 indicate below 0°C. for the four months from December to March[2]. Apart from some local differences, at least in Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi, this is roughly the period of base snow which covers the ground through the winter (Obihiro Sokkō-sho, 1959, p. 8 and p. 24). The island is well wooded: the southwestern part is rich in latifoliate trees represented by beech while the northeastern part abounds in coniferous forests, the representative species being firs, Abies sachalinensis and Picea jezoensis (MIURA, 1933, p. 275 and p. 278)[3]. From north to south through the centre of the island runs a range of hills and mountains the highest of which is Mt. Taisetu, 2290 metres above sea-level and in which the main rivers of Hokkaido have their sources. Among these rivers, the longest is the Ishikari (365 km), followed by the Teshio (306 km) and the Tokapchi (196 km) (Tokyo Temmon-dai, ed., 1954, Sect. Geogr., p. 27). In most of these rivers there are successive runs of salmon, Oncorhynchus masou and O. keta, from early summer to early or mid-winter (OYA, 1954; MIHARA et al., 1951). Among larger land mammals in Hokkaido are brown bear, Ursus arctos, and deer, Cervus nippon (HATTA, 1911; INUKAI, 1933, 1934 and 1952)[4]. The Ainu exploited these resources by hunting and fishing, and also collected wild plants.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

fish in the run, so that it was less efficient during the daytime when they usually remained inactive. It was used towards evening when the fish began to stir and again towards daybreak when they ceased to move about. It was a method most effectively employed in the earlier phase of the run, i.e. the period before the spawning of dog salmon and cherry salmon, when they continued their ascent. When the spawning time arrived, its place was taken by the more efficient method of spearing in the spawning grounds. Each family set up one hut, which was used by one of its male members, usually the house-head. Each family usually owned its own *worun chise*, which they erected anew each year on the same site, unless there was any great change in the site or surroundings. In reality the hut was open to the danger of thaw in spring and its conditions were made precarious by floods which recurred annually. At least in Mukawa those groups located near the estuary built cone-shaped dark huts, *shimpui chise*, on the frozen river and speared dace, Hucho perryi and other fishes through a hole.

The Basket-trap.

The basket-trap, *urai* or *rauomap*, made of pliable twigs and semi-conical in shape, was, like the *marek*, one of the most familar fishing devices known to the Ainu (Fig. 2, c). It was in extensive and general use for a great variety of fishes including dog salmon, cherry salmon and dace. Pointed at one end and open at the other, the trap was attached to the bottom of a V-shaped wattle-work fences or leader made of piled stones narrowing in the direction of the downstream. It was sometimes set to catch fish running upstream. In this case an accessory made of twigs was attached inside the mouth of the device to prevent fish from turning back outside.

When the spawning season set in, there were great runs into the glens of the cherry salmon that had been waiting in the larger and main streams. In order to catch them the basket-trap was set mostly in the glens and at their mouths. The main spawning grounds of the dog salmon lay distributed in the main streams as distinguished by the Ainu along which their settlements were located. They set the trap in the shallower and more rapid streams divided by shoals (*pet arikehe*) to trap dog salmon as they came down circling about and between the spawning areas. It played an active part as the fish began to spawn. The implement was usually made, erected and used by each family at the hands of women, although in time of a spate male members might help in driving piles and other work. As far as the salmon was concerned, the womanly device, the *urai*, played a supplementary role to the manly device, the *marek*. Thus the smaller the catch with the *marek* by a family, the greater the number of the *urai* it used. In the same local group where some families owned none, others might have three or four, the

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226 nap and rest by turns in the hut built by their weir. Every morning they
512 returned to the settlement to take their catch home. It is the habit of the salmon to lurk inactive during the day in a pool or under a drifted tree root. Before the land was cleared and the the rivers were improved there was a great amount of drift-wood in every watercourse. The Ainu went about in search of such places by day, spearing hiding fish with the *marek*. Fish that
[462] were missed or driven out were captured by partners, usually females, using the bag-net, *yaroshiki ya*.

226 Around August the salmon began to run up into small tributaries or glens
221 for spawning. In this period, the automatic basket-trap, *urai*, was set at the mouth of a glen to catch fish coming downstream after spawning, while fishing in the main stream went on.

226 The Ainu of the Azuma and the Otopuke valleys remained all through
221 the season at their settlements, fishing only in the neighbouring streams. But
184 the local groups on the upper Tokapchi migrated every August to a tributary of the Tokapchi, the Sahorun, when the salmon had already run up to its upper reaches (Map 2). The daily cycle of the fishing here was a little different from that in the main stream: in the Sahorun, no peep-fishing was practised, while the basket-trap was used to catch fish descending from a glen after spawning. They formed cooperative groups (p. 43, the chart) to stay, till the end of September, at fishing-huts set up along the tributary. The detail will be given in pp. 47 and 52.

226 In September when the rivers swollen with melted snow receded and the
221 water became clear, each family built a dark-hut or peep-hut, *worun chise*, in the main stream near their settlement. In this season runs became more brisk.
[462] It was the older male Ainu who speared salmon with the *marek* in the peep-hut towards evening and in early morning when there were active runs. The hut built at this time was successively used even in dog salmon fishing. The
[184] Azuma Ainu, however, did not practice the peep-hut fishing at all.

Cherry salmon fishing continued till dog salmon fishing began.

Dog Salmon Fishing.

The rivers in Hokkaido used to be, and still are ascended by dog salmon, Oncorhynchus keta, from around September till December or January, though strictly speaking, the running period of the salmon varies to some extent in different years and in different rivers and on the upper and the lower stretches
[132] in the same rivers (Oya, 1957). During the period of base snow which covers
[251] the entire island, the Ainu had to live on stored provisions consisting chiefly
[262] of dried dog salmon and venison. The amount of the salmon, which arrived immediately before their wintering season had a profound effect on the subsistence and daily life of the Ainu[27].

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hup, Abies sachalinensis[33]. In the second phase the scene of hunting shifted accordingly from the fields up to the hills. Huntings on the fields were usually done by hunters out from their homes in the settlement for the day, whereas for the hill hunting the hunters from most settlements migrated in parties to near the area where deer concentrated to pass the winter (Fig. 8 and Map 2). The hunters stayed at their huts in the valleys of streams down from the winter quarters, chasing their game with hounds and with hand bows and poisoned arrows. They usually returned home when the snow was too deep for them and their dogs to walk in. In either of Tokapchi and Otopuke, hunting activities during this second phase were performed only by part of the hunters, and in Nitmap on the upper Tokapchi at least, by some younger, unmarried hunters. In short, these activities were more or less supplementary to field hunting. They seem to have fluctuated in proportion to the scarcity of meat in actual store.

Spring hunting.—In spring the surface of the snow on the hills thawed by day and hardened again by night. Then deer hunting was resumed by hunters back at their huts near the winter quarters (p. 54). For some time early in the season, they used their hounds to drive the animals from their quarters down into glens still filled with snow and then shot them with hand bows as they fled struggling in the hardened snow. They also hunted the game lured by fresh leaves or small twigs of trees fallen on the ground, with spring bows set around them. As the snow began to disappear and the plants pushed forth their buds, deer gradually came down in herds to the lower plain in search of food. From the winter quarters down to the fields deer passed by way of the ridges of hills. Their tracks, *yuk apiri*, were much more fixed between the winter quarter and the bottom of the ridge than on the open fields. They continued hunting by means of spring bows set along the migration tracks as well as by hand bows till the base snow disappeared from the fields and the downward migration was completed. Each hunting party constituting a hut group (pp. 43-46) practised the spring bow hunting in their own hunting territory, that is, the dale valley in which their hut was located (p. 31).

Besides the methods mentioned above, the Ainu hunted deer down with dogs, caught them by the horn or neck with ropes and killed them with clubs as they fled struggling in the snow or crossed the rivers[34]. This method was widely practised among the Ainu; however, it seems to have been only supplementary to the others. It was also the only method of deer hunting by women and children.

Bear Hunting.

The Hokkaido species of bear belongs to Ursus arctos, a kind of brown

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Sources of foregoing figures, with notes (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 7, pp. 144-145; p. 149). 161 162

1804: based on 'Ezo Zakki' (Miscellanies on the Ainu). Under East Territory an addition was made of a certain number of houses with a population of 526 at six 'Basho' on the Kurile Isls. Surveys of West Territory and Saghalin are extremely inaccurate; figures for areas north of Rumoi seems to be mostly conjectural and below the actual numbers. 127

1822: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō' (A Table of Ainu House Distribution), 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. No information is avilable for Matsumae clan territory. Incomplete figures for Shikotan Isls. in East Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, unknown; population, 92) and Kamikawa in West Territory (houses, 75; population 527), have been omitted.

1854: based and emended on 'Ezo Kokō-hyō', 'Ezo Zakki' and other books. Additions were made into East Territory of 96 houses with a population of 377 at six places on the Kurile Isls.

1873: based on 'Kaitaku-shi Jigyō-hōkoku' (the Business Reports of the Commissioner of Colonization).

2 Monthly mean temperatures (C.) for 1921-1950 in different areas in Hokkaido (Tokyo Temmon-dai, 1954, Sect. Meteol., p. 8). 132

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Annual Mean
Hakodate	−3.4	−2.8	0.4	6.1	10.6	14.7	19.7	22.4	18.0	11.9	5.5	−0.7	8.5
Urakawa	−3.5	−3.2	−0.4	4.3	8.6	12.6	17.5	20.3	17.1	11.7	5.5	−0.8	7.5
Asahikawa	−9.4	−8.4	−3.6	4.0	10.7	16.0	20.9	21.2	15.5	8.6	1.4	−5.0	5.7
Obihiro	−9.8	−8.9	−3.2	4.3	10.0	14.0	18.8	19.7	15.6	9.0	2.1	−5.4	5.5
Kushiro	−7.1	−6.7	−2.5	2.8	6.8	10.7	15.4	18.2	15.2	9.7	3.5	−3.3	5.2
Suttu	−3.5	−2.8	0.5	5.5	10.1	14.2	19.1	21.2	17.9	12.1	5.3	−9.3	7.6
Sapporo	−6.6	−5.1	−1.4	5.3	10.7	15.3	20.1	21.7	18.4	10.2	3.6	−3.0	7.4
Uhoro	−5.7	−5.4	−1.8	4.3	9.3	14.0	18.8	20.7	16.5	10.6	3.8	−2.4	6.9
Wakkanai	−5.8	−5.8	−1.7	3.7	8.3	12.4	17.0	20.4	16.5	10.5	3.1	−3.3	6.3
Abashiri	−6.8	−7.3	−3.2	3.3	8.3	12.5	17.5	19.5	15.9	10.1	3.2	−3.3	5.2
Nemuro	−5.0	−5.7	−2.4	2.6	6.5	9.9	14.7	16.1	15.6	10.9	4.9	−1.4	5.5

3 So far as the crown forests in Hokkaido are concerned which occupy a large part of the island, there usually occur at the foot of the mountains latifoliate forests; halfway up the mountains, mixed forests of latifoliate and coniferous trees, at a higher altitude coniferous forests and at an altitude of about 1000 metres above sea-level such flora as the creeping-pine (MIURA, 1933, p. 282). On Mt. Taisetsu, the highest mountain in Hokkaido, and other high mountains in the central highland, the upper boundary of the growth of 137

SS /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha,
162 who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region.
G The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dis-
[131] persed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely rep-
[162] resented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different
162 from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied
132 by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern,
G Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed
A on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically
131 much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially
162 on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely
• 132 harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances
SS rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated
162 by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago,
A and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved
648 northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin,
167 where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent
131 life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,
161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased con-
SS siderably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other
162 hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe
G that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin
131 Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the
161 Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the
648 coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak
167

000 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.